13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Usually perched on almost inaccessible crags, from its commanding elevation it can not only view the activities of the field-workers in the terraces below, but can discern the whole domestic life of roof and yard at its feet.

The road both enters and leaves the village through a *Chorten* gate. Suppose a child sets up two plain bricks with a third across the top, and on this placed a fat Chess pawn, he would have quite a good model of these *chorten*-crowned archways. But these are still more fascinating and picturesque in spring, when surrounded by apricot-trees in full blossom and seen against a background of azure sky and glittering peaks, for the snow then is still low on the mountains. Between entrance and exit, the road is usually just a rough path trodden out at the base of the hill, with the fields below and the houses above, varied here and there by a rough bridge of logs covered with stones and mud, and by an occasional water-course which must be jumped as it carries its clear ice-cold water along. The stables for ponies or cattle, who are brought into the bottoms of the houses by night, in winter at any rate, may be enclosures roughly walled in by stones, balanced on each other to a height of four to six feet. These rough walls are also built as boundaries to fields, where there is no natural delimitation, as by the edge of a terrace, or to enclose small orchards of apricot and apple-trees, or even to fence in a "bagh," that is, a small plantation of trees, whose wood is so precious, and whose luscious bark attracts the cattle. A slight push with the hand topples over enough wall to make a convenient gap, easily replaced, for entrance and exit, and, after the winter months, during which the donkeys and sheep, and especially the nimble goats, are allowed to wander at will picking up such bits of roots and fodder as they only know how to find, there are few walls that do not need rebuilding. Round the edges of the growing cornfields throughout the summer cows and goats may be seen feeding on the scant grass, always either tethered or led by a small

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 Lobzang, a delightful old gentleman with a benevolent face and a courteous manner, which are really quite charming. He is quite a good photographer, and this common hobby forms a natural link of friendship, including requests for the purchase of self-toning paper and other photographic requisites. He is expecting us, and stands in the side of the doorway with some of his lamas so that we may advance without fear of the monastery dogs, of which there are always some about, who generally announce the arrival of an intruder with considerable and alarming vigour. The main doorway is lofty and deep, with heavy wooden doors, but to-day it is closed, as inside carpenters are sitting under its shade sawing away for some builders, busy at a new balcony in a near corner of the building. The side door, a smaller one, is that generally in use, and admits to the corner of the large court-yard, in the middle of which are two walled enclosures round wild rose bushes, one a large yellow one, the other pink, with another bush whose pale yellow flowers, insignificant in themselves, have the strong scent of syringa, in bloom. In the centre there stands a high poplar wood pole, to the top of which is attached a black yak's tail, and running down its entire length a prayer-flag. To one side of the enclosure is a mounting block from which the *Skushog* can mount his steed.

346 792 [351] [788]

Lying about the court-yard are a few dogs, but they seem quite peaceful and undisturbed by our advent. The main temple faces us as we enter, three storeys high, with the usual roof-edge of a layer of sticks about one foot broad, lying end-on, and painted with ochre. On this roof are erected at intervals long rough poles bearing prayer-flags, or yak's tails, or an umbrella-shaped structure consisting of long streamers of plaited yak's wool bound together by coarse strips of raw silk and surmounted by a trident. The windows, latticed-shaped but unglazed, are interlaced with wood, picked out in various colours, and, across the top of each, is a little valance, a frill of some coarse white cloth with a red

[788]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

There was an entrance gate, a yard with a stable, a first floor with a *Iha-k'hang*, as is usual. In this house which constituted the *k'hang-chen*, we found a family of two men, their common wife and three boys, as well as a divorced sister of the brothers. At the end of the field, attaining to the house, was a smaller building, with a field of its own. This was the *k'hang-gu*, and in it were the parents of the men. These parents consisted of a decrepit old hag and her three old husbands, and they had been living there for some six years already. The eldest of the men in the *k'hang-chen*, named Sonam Tsewang, acted as the informant, and it was with him that I made the genealogical tree of the family as shown here in Table 31.

The eldest sister of the fathers in the *k'hang-gu* was dead, it seemed. She had been married off in *bag-ma* to two brothers of a household called Chubipa, and she had had sons to continue the line there. The three brothers had married one woman called Sonam Putit – the old hag who was living with the men – and these people had had five children, three daughters and two boys.

The eldest daughter, Tsewang Palmo, had fallen in love and married a Christian called Dorge, much to her family's displeasure, not so much because of the difference in religion, but because, being a convert of the mission, he had no land of his own (he had been excluded by his own family) and had to work as a peon. The second daughter, Standzin Rolma, had married into a household called Kushu but had since divorced and had returned to her brothers. She now lived in the *k'hang-chen* as is the custom, and her brothers had to see to it that she was maintained. I was not able to find out under what circumstances she divorced.

The two boys, Sonam Tsewang and Skalzang, were married polyandrously with a woman named Ishe Rolma. They had three boys with her, and the continuity of the Mahe household through males was thus assured. A sister, born between the birthdays of the two men, called Chungnid, was the one we had met at the Tok-Tok household on the 30th of August. She was married polyandrously in *bag-ma* there to the two sons of Stobgye, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel.

We spent the afternoon of the same day at the house of an *amchi* or native Tibetan doctor, the *Gadpo-pa* (*rGad-po-pa*) Household. There was only a grandmother alive in this house, and she lived in the *k'hang-gu* reserved for her. The son, Chonde, who was a doctor, lived in a larger *k'hang-gu* than usual, because, as an *amchi*, he had private means and could add to the small home as he wanted. Actually, the